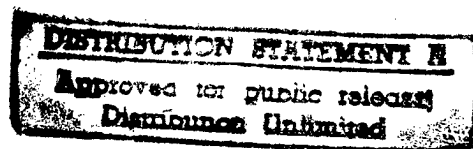


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1 December 1993



**FOREIGN  
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# ***JPRS Report***



## **East Asia**

***Southeast Asia***  
***Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN***  
***No 9, September 1993***

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# East Asia

## Southeast Asia

### Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN

### No 9, September 1993

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## CONTENTS

1 December 1993

[This report is a translation of the table of contents and selected articles from the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi. Notations in the table of contents indicate articles previously published or not translated.]

### Commemorating the August Revolution and National Day on 2 September (1945-1993)

Editorial: Exploit the Fruits of the August Revolution and Strive To Build a Prosperous, Strong, and Civilized Socialist Vietnam <i>[Editorial]</i> .....	1
Declaration of Independence and Human Rights Issue <i>[Nghiem Dinh Vy; not translated]</i> .....	1
President Ho Chi Minh's Concept of Tolerance and Harmony <i>[Ngo Phuong Ba; not translated]</i> ...	1
Economic and Social Unity in Ho Chi Minh Thought <i>[Le Van Tuan; not translated]</i> .....	1
Theoretical Work and Task of Preserving Purity of Marxism-Leninism <i>[Nguyen Dung Sinh]</i> .....	1
Protecting Security of Our National Borders in New Situation <i>[Dang Vu Liem]</i> .....	4

### Research-Exchange of Opinions

National Defense and Security Tasks Today <i>[Major General Bui Phan Ky]</i> .....	6
Share Economy and Venture Mechanisms <i>[Vu Xuan Kieu; not translated]</i> .....	8
Privatizing State Enterprises: One Motive Force for Expanding Production and Business <i>[Nguyen Dang Quang; not translated]</i> .....	8
Building Ranks of Business Cadres in Our Country <i>[Nguyen Cuc]</i> .....	8
Relationship Between Party Committee Echelons, Secretaries, and Directors in State Enterprises <i>[Nguyen Kim Dinh; not translated]</i> .....	11

### Reality and Experience

Expanding Tourism—One of the Country's Economic Strengths <i>[Doan Quang Thien; not translated]</i> .....	11
Several Aspects of Party Building in Ninh Binh <i>[Nguyen Thanh Tuc; not translated]</i> .....	11
Nam Dinh: Problems and Solutions <i>[Tran Minh Ngoc; not translated]</i> .....	11
Thai Nguyen Steel Corporation Growing Stronger in New Mechanism <i>[Pham Thang; not translated]</i> .....	11

### Ideological Life

An Ancient but not Outdated Story <i>[Duong Vu; not translated]</i> .....	11
---	----

### Materials

Quarters and Work of President Ho Chi Minh—Very Valuable Legacy of the Nation <i>[Tran Viet Hoan; not translated]</i> .....	11
--	----

### The World: Issues and Events

Development Lessons of ASEAN Countries <i>[Trinh Cuong; not translated]</i> .....	11
---	----

### From Foreign Publications

Japan Shifting Its Scientific and Technical Strategy <i>[Not translated]</i> .....	11
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## **Commemorating the August Revolution and National Day on 2 September (1945-1993)**

### **Editorial: Exploit the Fruits of the August Revolution and Strive To Build a Prosperous, Strong, and Civilized Socialist Vietnam**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 3-6

[Editorial not translated]

### **Declaration of Independence and Human Rights Issue**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 6-9

[Article by Nghiem Dinh Vy; not translated]

### **President Ho Chi Minh's Concept of Tolerance and Harmony**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 10-13

[Article by Ngo Phuong Ba; not translated]

### **Economic and Social Unity in Ho Chi Minh Thought**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 14-17

[Article by Le Van Tuan; not translated]

### **Theoretical Work and Task of Preserving Purity of Marxism-Leninism**

943E0001A Vietnam TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese Sep 93 pp 18-21

[Article by Nguyen Dung Sinh, cadre at the Ho Chi Minh National Institute of Politics]

[Text] The recent collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in Eastern Europe has posed new challenges for Marxism-Leninism. The bourgeoisie and the enemy forces are counterattacking and waging a fierce struggle against Marxism-Leninism, and opportunists and revisionists continue to distort and smear Marxism-Leninism. Within the communist movement, many people are wavering, unsure, and confused. They cannot explain the new and complex problems in the face of the changes and developments in the political-actual situation. Even some very well-known people have said that the mistakes of the communists are "total" mistakes. The working class and the laboring people in the world, particularly in the former socialist countries, must once again pay a heavy price for the lessons of history.

In Vietnam, just after we gained our independence, the Communist Party of Vietnam disclosed its political

program, strategy, and brief statutes based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Today, now that it has become the ruling party, after achieving successes and making mistakes in building the country and building socialism, the party continues to affirm Marxism-Leninism as its ideological system and regards this as one of the basic foundations of the renovation movement. Of course, that is not a subjective imposition. It originates from an understanding of the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism and from an affirmation of the fact that only by following the path of Marxism-Leninism will the working class and laboring people be able to liberate themselves, build a social system in which they are the masters, and bring development and prosperity to the country and people.

Defending Marxism-Leninism means defending the true values of a revolutionary and scientific theory whose birth brought about a revolution in the ideological awareness and history of mankind. The world has undergone many changes. There have been many revolutions in the production forces and production relationships in many countries and regions. But the ideological and theoretical legacy of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and the growth of this ideology is still the world view and correct methodology of millions of laborers. Marxist-Leninism theory is not just the theoretical and methodological foundation of the struggle to liberate the laborers but also the scientific basis of many scientific spheres that is helping people to understand and improve themselves and to understand and improve society and their natural surroundings. To prevent Marxism-Leninism from being distorted and smeared, we must carry on many tasks simultaneously in many spheres. This article will discuss just one specific issue: theoretical work and the task of preserving the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

1. Formulating methods to tie science to the conceptual and theoretical legacies of the classicists:

Naturally, the ideas of the classicists can be understood by later generations only through the classics. In Vietnam, the problem of studying these works did not become a problem just recently. For many years, leading cadres, managerial cadres, and cadres responsible for studying and propagating theory have spent much time and effort on studying the classical works of Marxism-Leninism. However, even today, no one fully understands the nature of the arguments and principles of the classicists. A number of people lack sufficient understanding, and some people have a one-sided, distorted view. There are even people who are skeptical. They view Marxism-Leninism as something immutable or as a formula that can solve all of life's problems. The classicists wrote: "Our theory is not a dogma but a compass for taking action." They often ridiculed memorizing things by heart and repeating the original "formulas" word for word.

Understanding the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism means understanding the laws of

movement and development of society as reflected in the arguments and theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism. It means understanding the objective nature of determining the forces that play a role and that have the capabilities, through their own self-conscious activities, to contribute to promoting the necessary process of development of history. This is the historical mission of the working class. Naturally, in order to carry out this mission, the working class must satisfy various necessary conditions. Because without those conditions, the working class will not be able to move ahead and stand firm in the historical arena.

The scientific approach demands that in studying the ideological-theoretical legacy of Marx and Lenin, methods of theoretical thinking must be coordinated with making effective use of social science research methods. The research targets cannot be separated from other existing targets. In the research process, arguments and concepts must not be taken out of their historical context, and people must have a profound and accurate understanding of the details related to that historical context. The main results of studying the conceptual and theoretical legacy are a theoretical basis and a correct methodology for solving the practical problems of today. There would not be an effective explanatory model in the conceptual-theoretical legacy of Marx and Lenin unless that provided a scientific basis for arguments for decisions in the practical activities of the communist party.

The vitality of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought lies in its relationship to practice when the theoretical bases and Marxist-Leninist methodology have been put into practice. Thus, reviewing practices is an objective requirement in the process of understanding and approaching a conceptual-theoretical system. Reviewing practices provides the conditions for examining the level of understanding and theoretical thinking and the degree to which theory has been applied in practice. But reviewing practices has practical significance only with respect to the process of approaching a conceptual-theoretical system once this has been implemented with the goal of improving theoretical awareness using scientific methods. Reviewing practices is not aimed just at pointing out the achievements and the shortcomings, causes, and responsibilities. Carrying on practical activities and reviewing practices must be viewed as an opportunity for raising theoretical awareness and thinking to a new level in the process of understanding and thinking. The practices that must be reviewed are not disorderly practices of a phenomenal nature. Instead, they must have a general, abstract nature in order to discover the inner laws of movement and the conflicts contained within the reality of life. At the same time, through reviewing practices, trends in the movement and development of practical problems can be predicted. This is the only way that we will be able to fully understand the value of the conceptual-theoretical arguments of the classicists.

Studying Marxist-Leninist theory poses an urgent requirement and that is to recognize the need to reorganize the research forces and invest a suitable amount in this sphere. There must be symposiums to study the conceptual-theoretical legacies of the classicists in an all-round manner. In this, the key problem is to assemble and fully exploit the capabilities of the excellent specialists in this sphere. Our country does not have very many scientific cadres who are specialists in conducting in-depth research on one or a number of political-social theoretical issues. There are many issues in scientific research spheres that are attracting them. Many of our theoretical research cadres are also leading and managerial cadres, and they are very busy with their organizational and managerial functions. Thus, it is essential to reorganize the theoretical research activities. With respect to theoretical research activities, a mechanism must be formed in order to use and fully exploit the existing capabilities. At the same time, excellent theoretical specialists of the party and state must be trained. These are people who have a deep understanding of the ideas of the classicists and Marxist-Leninist theory and who have the ability to apply the conceptual arguments of those men to the specific conditions of our country.

## 2. Attention must be given to spreading theory:

Lenin often said that "without a revolutionary theory, there cannot be a revolutionary movement." Thus, conducting theoretical research must be tied to spreading theory. Spreading theory must be carried on in an adequate and systematic manner in all cadre training schools. This must be carried on regularly, resolutely, seriously, and daily and hourly using all the propaganda means that we now have and will have in the future.

The quality and results of propagating theory depend on many factors. This is primarily a matter of correctly orienting the theoretical research and propagation activities. Theoretical activities must be aimed at strengthening the leadership effectiveness of the party. The party must provide close leadership in determining the tasks, targets, contents, and methods of organization for theoretical research and applying the results of the theoretical research in practice. The party must determine the viewpoints and principles in research activities and propagating theory. "The leadership organizations of the party must give particular attention to theoretical work." [Politburo Resolution 01/NQ-TW of 28 March 1992 "On Theoretical Work in the Present Stage"]

The results of theoretical research are objective factors with respect to renovating the curriculum and contents in teaching political theory at the institutes and cadre training schools and in propaganda and educational activities in order to raise the level of awareness and revolutionary self-consciousness of the masses. Aimed at tying theory to reality and tying theoretical research activities to propagating theory, the results of theoretical research must contribute to orienting and guiding practical activities and become a part of the knowledge and instructional contents at the cadre training schools and

general propaganda materials among the people. Accepting theory is a highly self-conscious task of the masses, and this requires patience and creativity without fear of the costs and difficulties. Only in this way will the activities aimed at spreading theory be lively and attract people's attention.

Theoretical activities are a sphere directly related to the activities of the party and state. They control many spheres of social life, and they are related to the awareness and confidence of the masses with respect to the targets and path of development of the country and nation. Improving the quality and results of theoretical research and propaganda activities will help preserve Marxism-Leninism and contribute to supplementing and developing the concepts and theories of the classicists when applied to the real conditions of our country. This is also a key problem with respect to the success of the movement to renovate and build the country on the socialist path.

3. The struggle on the ideological-theoretical front must be waged effectively:

In history, there has never been a political theory that has been attacked and distorted as constantly as Marxism-Leninism. But history has also shown that after every challenge, Marxism-Leninism has shown its revolutionary and scientific nature and proven its great strength and ability to penetrate the masses of laboring people.

Those who oppose Marxism-Leninism are very familiar. They are the theorists of the reactionary bourgeoisie, those who follow revisionism and opportunism, and those who once had socialist ideals but who have now turned their backs on and betrayed those ideals. This has happened many times in history. This is a class struggle on the ideological-theoretical front. This struggle was very fierce during the time of Marx and Engels and during the time of Lenin. It has occurred during many generations of communists. As long as there is imperialism and capitalism, this struggle will continue, and the struggle will certainly become even fiercer. So that the struggle defeats all of the plots and stratagems of the enemy forces on the ideological-theoretical front, it is essential to organize the forces. This is not a spontaneous struggle, and it is not an easy task. This requires a profound understanding of the Marxist-Leninist ideological-theoretical system and firm political and scientific capabilities. Striking the right blows at the distortions and the enemy must start not only from an awareness of revolutionary feelings but also from reason, analysis, and thorough criticism of those arguments with an adequate scientific basis and scientific arguments. By correctly explaining the reasons for the mistakes and defeats and exposing the deceitfulness and sophistry of the distorted arguments, we will be able to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism in the face of opposing and destructive arguments.

On the ideological-theoretical front, the opposing forces will constantly be looking for loopholes that they can use to attack us. They are using "peaceful change" like a dangerous weapon and using activities in the various spheres of social life to expand the scope and strengthen the influence of capitalism. They are using the class, religious, ethnic, and racial conflicts existing in the spiritual life of society and the economic, cultural, and scientific relationships in market and open-door economic conditions to implement their plots. Their ultimate goal is to reduce and eliminate the leadership role of the party and eliminate Marxism-Leninism.

Organizing and controlling information is something that is directly related to the struggle against the enemy's plots on the ideological-theoretical front. In carrying on both theoretical research and practical activities, everyone must have accurate information from many sources. But having multi-sided information does not mean that it will not be possible to clarify legitimate viewpoints, make scientific criticisms, and criticize erroneous arguments. If information is provided like raw materials, results will never be achieved, because no one has the ability to handle every piece of information.

The party and state are reorganizing printing and publishing activities. In order to counter opposing arguments on the ideological-theoretical front, the help of the state is needed to publish various types of political theory publications and to publish and disclose the results of the theoretical research projects. A market mechanism cannot be used rigidly in publishing these types of publications. Investments in political theory publications is a type of basic investment that must rely on the state budget.

The information, press, publishing, radio, and television organizations are being equipped with more and more modern equipment. It is essential that there be close cooperation between these organizations and the theoretical research organizations in order to counterattack the opposing forces on the ideological-theoretical front. Good results on the ideological-theoretical front will create favorable conditions for overcoming the difficulties and meeting the challenge of preserving political and social stability and continuing to move the country forward. From the realities of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the laboring people in our country know the price that must be paid for the loss of political and social stability.

The success of the renovation movement and the task of building the country based on a socialist orientation requires that communists, the working class, and the laboring people of the country create stable growth in all spheres of social life and that they make worthy contributions to preserving the purity of Marxism-Leninism and continue to reinforce and expand this ideological-theoretical system.

## Protecting Security of Our National Borders in New Situation

943E0001B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese Sep 93 pp 22-24, 27

[Article by Dang Vu Liem, head of the Border Troops Political Department]

[Text] National borders are always related to the survival and development of the nation. Inviolable unity is one of the special all-inclusive characteristics of national borders that every independent and sovereign country must understand and maintain strictly. As for Vietnam, maintaining and preserving this unity is of great significance. We have had to undergo long and difficult struggles and sacrifice the blood of many generations in order to secure today's borders.

National borders hold an important position with respect to security, national defense, and economic and foreign affairs. They are the gateway for the defense of the country, the first line of defense against border encroachments and wars of aggression. The border is the frontier and the "lattice and fence" of the fatherland. Our inland and coastal borders run for more than 8,000 km. Different from many other countries in the world, our borders are "open borders" in natural conditions. Because of this situation, management and defense has characteristics different from those in other countries. Our border areas are usually very rugged and difficult areas. Our inland borders, which we share with three other countries, that is, China, Laos, and Cambodia, extend for more than 4,000 km. These borders are both long and winding. Some sections of the border are friendly, but along other sections, there are complex disputes. Almost all of the inland borders run through high mountains, past deep rivers, and through dense jungle and dangerous terrain where communications and information are difficult and the weather is very bad. In the Eastern Sea, our territorial waters border those of China, Taiwan, the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, and Cambodia. Along our ocean borders, there are areas that are still the subject of dispute with many countries.

The frontier, which is where the border defense troops work, are often home to various ethnic minority groups and people who practice different religions.

The socioeconomic situation in these places is generally poor, and some places are very backward. The level of awareness concerning sovereignty is low, and the concept of nation and national borders is very limited. A number of ethnic minority groups have very deep ethnic and racial ties to neighboring countries, and they frequently need to visit those countries. Thus, defending and controlling the borders is very difficult.

Making use of the difficulties in the lives of the people living in the border areas, the reactionary forces have distorted the religious, ethnic, and renovation policies of the party and state. They have fanned the hatreds among the various ethnic minority groups, cracked national

solidarity, and encouraged migration and religious growth in unusual ways in the ethnic minority areas.

Our country, like all other countries in the world, wants to develop and needs stability. To have stability, we must be able to defend ourselves. With a deep understanding of this law, the party and state have always regarded defending our national borders as the responsibility and obligation of the entire party, the entire military, and all the people, and emphasis has been given to building and organizing full-time forces to serve as the activists. These forces used to be the armed people's public security forces (established on 3 March 1959). Now they are known as border troops. These border troops have state management functions and tasks with respect to the borders based on the laws. They control and defend our territorial sovereignty, maintain the frontier routes, and ensure that the border markers and national border signs are not moved. They ensure that the national border laws promulgated by the state are enforced, carry on border defense tasks, and block people from crossing the border illegally. They control the implementation of international agreements on border relations with neighboring countries, struggle against counter-revolutionaries and other destructive groups, and maintain order and security along the border. At the same time, they coordinate things with the military in opposing aggression, they coordinate things with customs officials in opposing border smuggling, and they work with other forces to protect the environment and ecology along our national borders. Another very important task of the border troops is, together with the local authorities, to spread propaganda and mobilize the people to implement the positions and policies of the party and the laws of the state on building the economy and society and building a mass movement to maintain security along our fatherland's borders.

In carrying out their functions and tasks during the past 35 years, the border troops, together with the authorities and people along the borders, have faced many challenges and scored many notable results. Through the realities of defending the border, several of the main problems are:

1. In the struggle to defend the security of our national borders, the struggle formulas in the security, national defense, and diplomatic spheres must be coordinated closely. The struggle at the macrocosmic level must be defined with a broad and stable social base, and the security, national defense, and diplomatic lines of the party and state must be adhered to. There must be uniform guidance from the central echelon to the localities. The integrated strength of the political system must be exploited, with particular attention given to using and coordinating the work formulas of the border troops.

Maintaining the security of our national borders is an important element of building socialism and defending the fatherland. This is a political task of the entire party, the entire military, and all the people. This task must be

carried out seriously in accord with the resolutions and directives of the party and state.

In defending the borders, there must be close coordination between defending our national territorial, political, economic, and cultural sovereignty and maintaining security and social order and between defending the country and handling relationships with neighboring countries well. The struggle targets of maintaining border security are very complex and varied and include various plots to destroy our country from the borders on all fronts. These targets include both armed and unarmed targets and both secret and open targets. They include spies, intelligence operatives, commandos, bandits, pirates, criminals, smugglers, and invading armed gangs. This also includes those people who intentionally or unintentionally violate border regulations and cross the border illegally. Because the struggle targets are so varied and complex, defending border security requires close cooperation between the security, national defense, and diplomatic spheres so that each place can, depending on the specific situation, have suitable struggle forms and measures and coordinate the main struggle formulas with specific, in-depth struggle forms. An important requirement is to coordinate things regularly with the sectors, echelons, and forces that are working along the borders. In particular, attention must be given to mobilizing, educating, and organizing the masses to participate in defending the borders. Using suitable forms, a people's movement must be organized to actively maintain border security. We have a number of experiences in doing this, and in the new situation, those experiences must be used and exploited better.

2. The struggle to maintain border security is a struggle of all the people and all spheres under the leadership of the party and the control of the state. Leadership must be provided in constantly developing the border areas on the economic, national defense, security, cultural and social, and infrastructural fronts and in improving the material and spiritual lives of the ethnic minority groups. This is the basis of our strength in maintaining border security today.

The people must be the subject of maintaining border security. The strongest border defense line is the will of the people. At the same time, another objective of the struggle to maintain peace along our borders is the happiness of the people. In this struggle, there must be close coordination between defense and construction, between defending the people and defending the borders, and between building strong political and social organizations and developing the economy and culture. The integrated strength of the echelons, sectors, and forces must be exploited in order to carry out the tasks both along the borders and in the interior and to create strong border defense positions. In the high, remote mountain areas where the standard of living of the ethnic minority groups is poor, economic and social construction and development must be promoted to create a basis that will directly affect border defense. Attention must be given to developing the economy and coordinating this with

spreading propaganda and educating the people regarding their responsibilities and obligations in defending the national border. In recent years, the border forces have made positive contributions to building party and administrative bases, public security forces, militia forces, and mass organizations in the localities. On the other hand, they have helped the people produce and study culture, provided medical treatment, and shown films to support the people, particularly in very remote areas. As a result, the ethnic minority peoples regard them as family.

The state has promulgated and implemented many decrees, regulations, and agreements on defending and controlling the borders. In the present open-door situation, along with the new advantages, many new difficulties and complexities have arisen along our borders. We lack border defense laws, import-export regulations, and regulations on territorial water boundaries. Because of this, the forces directly involved in tasks along the borders, particularly the border defense troops, have encountered many difficulties and much confusion.

3. Unified, centralized leadership from the central echelon to the localities must be maintained. Because of the requirements of guidance and command, the defense of the national borders must be centralized and unified. During the past 35 years, in both wartime and peacetime, although the border defense troops have undergone changes with respect to the management mechanism, in general, their task of defending the borders has become more and more difficult. Carrying out tasks along a border that is more than 8,000 km long, the forces are dispersed. Because of this, command and control must be tight and timely and run from top to bottom. Enemy activities and other things that occur along the borders and at sea must be promptly reported to higher echelons. Many of the things that happen along the border are related not just to the two border guard posts or two localities that share a common border but also to two nations and two governments. Because of this, when examining and handling matters, things must be done very carefully, accurately, and promptly.

Maintaining border security is closely related to the domestic and foreign policies of the party and state. Thus, this work must be under the centralized and unified leadership of the central echelon. At the same time, things must be closely coordinated with the localities. Only in this way will it be possible to solve the problems that arise along the borders in a synchronized manner and exploit the integrated strength of the forces at the central echelon and in the localities. The state has entrusted the localities with responsibility for directly handling a number of specific matters that arise there, but they must file reports so that the central echelon can make decisions on issues related to national sovereignty. The border defense troops are state forces that are engaged in controlling the borders. They are stationed in the localities, but with respect to leadership and guidance, unified centralization must be maintained. Experience shows that at various times and places, because

the border defense troops have been organizationally dispersed and lacked unified centralization, they have not been able to manifest their strength.

The situation along our borders is complex and so we must study things promptly, exploit the strong points and positive aspects, and limit the loopholes and weaknesses in order to do a good job in defending our national borders.

4. The party is directly involved in leading and building strong regular border defense forces and gradually modernizing these forces. As the situation along the border becomes more complex, the full-time forces must become stronger. In order to satisfy the new requirements, the border defense troops must be organizationally and professionally strong, have good political quality, and be absolutely loyal to the revolution of the party and people. Organization must be stable, and confusion must be avoided when things have not been studied carefully, particularly when an urgent and complex situation arises along the border. The orientation in building the forces is to move toward turning these into regular, modern forces that are equipped with the weapons and scientific and technical means necessary to control and defend our borders in the new situation.

Today, the new economic management mechanism is affecting and controlling many social activities, including maintaining border security. The world and region are undergoing profound changes, and there is much more exchange and travel between countries than in the past. This, too, is greatly affecting the task of maintaining border security.

Because our country has implemented an open-door policy, more and more economic groups and public and private organizations from various countries acting in various capacities (personal visits, inspections, tourism, surveys, inspections prior to signing contracts, humanitarian and charitable aid, repatriating refugees, and so on) are coming here. Posing as members of such groups, many bad elements have slipped into the country in order to carry out their plots. The number of struggle targets of the border defense troops at the entrances to the fatherland has increased. The enemy has used modern scientific and technical achievements in carrying on espionage activities in order to penetrate our coasts, passes, islands, and so on. Thus, in order to defend and control our national borders, emphasis must be placed on having excellent techniques and modern means and weapons.

In implementing the policy of opening the borders, a number of sectors and localities have done many dynamic, positive, and creative things in order to increase revenues for their sector and locality and increased their contributions to the state budget. However, some sectors and localities have disregarded the laws, adhering to the old saying "imperial power bends to rural customs," and engaged in illegal cross-border trade. Because of chasing economic profits only, some

places have neglected to coordinate the economy with national defense and security. And some places have even allowed bad elements to make use of things, pay bribes, steal, and set up bases along the roads to engage in trade. Thus, the state must soon promulgate a national border law and a border defense troop law that the sectors and echelons can implement in order to maintain border security and expand the economy based on a market mechanism. The party and state must soon formulate a territorial waters strategy and perfect the mountain area strategy, maintain the close connection between economic and social activities and security and national defense work, and effectively overcome the situation in which things are done for immediate profit without any thought to long-term interests and for economic interests without any concern for security-national defense interests.

The immediate task is to improve and solidify the organizational system of the border defense troops using three echelons: a border defense headquarters, provincial and municipal border defense committees, and border defense posts. The command and leadership mechanism must be centralized and unified from the headquarters to the bases. This mechanism will make it possible to handle the problems that arise along the border quickly and promptly.

Efforts must be concentrated on training the forces in order to improve their political, military, occupational, and legal standards, provide them with knowledge about related subjects such as economics and foreign languages, and ensure that they can fight well, engage in diplomatic activities skillfully, and build strong political bases.

Favorable material and spiritual policies must be implemented in order to encourage the cadres and soldiers to overcome the difficulties, stick to things to the end, and protect the fatherland's frontiers.

## Research-Exchange of Opinions

### National Defense and Security Tasks Today

943E0001C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese Sep 93 pp 25-27

[Article by Major General Bui Phan Ky, associate professor at the Institute of Strategy, Ministry of National Defense]

[Text] Opposing and controlling outside aggressors in order to stabilize the system and maintain peace along the borders is a task that all nations and peoples place at the national policy level. But once a country has decided to choose the path of socialist construction, that choice means that it will have to deal with the reactionary forces that oppose socialism. The achievements in building socialism must contain the ability to deal with the "elimination campaigns" of the anti-socialist forces. From this, it is clear that opposing and controlling



outside aggressors while building the new system is, in some respects, even more difficult and complex than during the period of struggle for independence.

Some people have pointed out the difference between the fatherland and the system in order to argue that there are now reactionary forces whose only aim is to eliminate our system. Their aim is not to eliminate the national independence of our country. They say that forces have simply encroached on our territorial sovereignty without ever intending to eliminate socialism in Vietnam. Are they serious? They lead to a very important political conclusion: maintaining national independence and protecting the system are two separate things that should not be linked together!

The fatherland and the system have never been one. Every country has had many systems, but national sovereignty has rarely changed. This is easy to see if we look at things from the standpoint of relations between nations. But from the standpoint of the citizens of each nation—and this is the key aspect of the issue—such is not the case. According to the principle “domestic affairs guide foreign affairs,” the nature and character of their “fatherland” is constantly changing. Today, it is a centralized feudal “fatherland” where citizens are forced to pay tribute and serve the king. But tomorrow, it may be a constitutional monarchy in which the people have commercial freedoms and the right to vote and in which the king has been transformed into a high-level civil servant who is paid a wage. Today, this is a “fatherland” of monopoly capitalist corporations, but tomorrow it is the “fatherland” of the working class and laboring people. Today, this is the “fatherland” of internationalism, which promotes equality among nations, but tomorrow it is the “fatherland” of chauvinism, which promotes one’s own nation and despises other nations. All of these changes of the “fatherland” revolve around one question: a “fatherland” of whom, by whom, and for whom? The answer has a profound effect on the fate and lives of all citizens living in that “fatherland.”

The fatherland of all peoples and all groups of people is always tied to a specific economic-political-social system. Because of this, it changes constantly depending on the changes in that system.

National independence is not just a question of territorial sovereignty. It is also and primarily a question of political independence and sovereignty in selecting the system. If someone attacks a social system that is the result of the economic, political, and social development of that nation, then he is really attacking that nation’s sovereignty in selecting a system.

In reality, there never has been and never will be a fatherland that is not tied to a particular economic-political-social system and to the fate of certain people and groups of people. In line with this, the Communist Manifesto states that if the working class “does not transform itself into a nation,” it will not have a fatherland. Because in a capitalist system, the fatherland

belongs to the capitalists and not to the workers. Even though times have changed, this fundamental principle still maintains its original value.

Our national defense and security sectors must, together with all the people, defend the fatherland and, at the same time, defend our system. Defending the fatherland cannot be separated from defending the system. Conversely, defending the system cannot be separated from defending the fatherland.

In a bourgeois society, in order to protect their interests, the ruling classes usually encourage workers and laborers to attack each other in the name of “defending the fatherland.” In order to expose that plot and distinguish us from them, we cannot ignore Lenin’s principles on “defending socialism having the nature of a fatherland.” Today, the plots and stratagems of the forces that oppose us have changed in accord with the change in interests in the new age. The goal of their offensive is no longer aimed at simply seizing territory, controlling people, and organizing a puppet regime. Today, all they want is for that country to go along with the changes in the lines based on their requirements. But once you give in to their pressure, your leadership lines will no longer be for the interests of your country but for the interests of another country. In such a situation, how can there be national independence?

In defending the fatherland, defending the nation and maintaining national security are two spheres of activity that are closely related to each other, but they are separate. In those two spheres, the full-time forces are organized differently, they operate in accord with the different formulas, and they follow different sciences. In professional activities, each force must deal with different targets in different locations and on different battlefields, and they have their own ways of deploying forces and controlling the battle. Each sector has its own strategy and delves deeply into those sciences and arts related to its own operating formulas.

However, at the macrocosmic level, with respect to party leadership and state control, it must be clearly seen that the activities bear the integrated character of the entire country and all of society based on the requirements of defending the nation and maintaining national security. It must be seen that between those two spheres, there are aspects that cannot be separated. Just the slightest laxity in coordinating things will have dire consequences.

Above all, the national defense and security activities must serve as the activist in firmly maintaining the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the fatherland, defending the socialist system, maintaining political stability and social order and safety, protecting the ownership rights of the people, and defeating the plots and actions of the reactionary forces that want to destroy our people’s revolution. These are the common political tasks of both operating sectors.

In order to carry out these tasks well, the national defense and security sectors must organize activist

forces in accord with their functions, the specific combat targets in each stage, and the struggle conditions, capabilities, and potential of the country. At the same time, they must coordinate things closely with each other. Both national defense and security activities must be aimed at the strategic target of "defeating plots and actions aimed at destroying our people's revolution." Above all, the "peaceful change" plot must be defeated, plots to encroach on our country's sovereignty must be toppled, and preparations must be made to defeat plots of aggression.

In the relationship between national defense and security, the strategic targets hold a guiding position. The operating formulas of each sector and force are measures for hitting the targets. They are subordinate factors.

The various national defense and security activities in each period can be aimed at specific targets, which do not have to be the same, and at operational and tactical targets. But at the macrocosmic level of the party and state, in every period, the strategic targets of national defense and security are unified. The strategic targets provide guidance in selecting the specific targets in specific areas.

The unity in the political nature of the national defense and security forces is manifested by the fact that both are loyal soldiers of the fatherland and system. They are the arms and direct tools of force of the party and state and of the people. People often stress the principle of relying on the people. But in every struggle to clarify justice and truth, the people, too, must have someone on whom they can rely. If justice and truth do not have the strength to serve as something on which they can rely, the people, regardless of their numbers, must give in and allow violence and force to take over.

The general tendency of rivals today is to make full use of integrated offensive formulas. Thus, the national defense and security forces must coordinate things very closely with each other, complete the tasks based on the common strategic targets, and really serve as the strong activists for the integrated strength of all the people in defending the fatherland and system.

In the country's present situation, maintaining stability and a peaceful environment for construction and development is a strategic requirement, because this will determine the fate of the country and people in the coming decades. One of the sayings of our forefathers was "maintain a peaceful world." If stability is maintained within, it will be very difficult for outside enemies to interfere. In the past, almost all those who attacked us coordinated internal attacks with attacks from outside. The best way is to begin with internal destruction in order to establish a bridge-head and create a reason for outsiders to interfere in various ways. Thus, to maintain a peaceful environment, we must begin by maintaining internal stability and maintaining stability within the party and state and among the people.

Maintaining stability is a matter of creating a favorable environment for the growth of all spheres of activity, creating a peaceful environment for the people so that they can soon get out of the socioeconomic crisis, eliminating poverty, and gradually advancing toward having a prosperous people, strong country, and civilized society. Maintaining stability also means protecting the present economic-political system that is now being renovated and maintaining the ownership rights of the people and the control and management rights of the state under the leadership of the party.

Stability is the key to maintaining peace, but this is the target of attack of all opposition forces. The newest lesson of the country and the age is that if a country can maintain stability, it will have the strength to deal successfully with all rivals and overcome all dangers. If stability is lost, that will open the door to disaster. By maintaining stability, we can maintain peace and guard against the unexpected.

Our national defense and security tasks require an all-round, inter-sector strategy with the nature of an integral element of the national strategy. This must become a "national defense-security strategy" containing the main contents of defending the fatherland, defending the system in the new stage, and preserving the fruits of the revolution in any situation through the effective self-defense activities of all the people and of every sector and echelon, with the national defense and security forces serving as the activists.

### **Share Economy and Venture Mechanisms**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 28-31

[Article by Vu Xuan Kieu; not translated]

### **Privatizing State Enterprises: One Motive Force for Expanding Production and Business**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 32-34

[Article by Nguyen Dang Quang; not translated]

### **Building Ranks of Business Cadres in Our Country**

943E0001D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese Sep 93 pp 35-37

[Article by Nguyen Cuc, MA in economics]

[Text] Business is a profession, and business cadres stand at the head of the enterprises and play an important position in building and developing the economy. When the country switched to the new mechanism, the business cadres became a new type of cadre of great importance. They are a new type in the sense that in the past, they were just administrators and not really businessmen. Now, they are business managers whose business careers are closely related to the market mechanism with a spirit

of independence and dynamism. They are a special type of laborer who must have very high quality, great intelligence, integrity, and energy. They are important because they are the ones who control the economic cells and affect social reproduction. The economic strength of the country stems from the strength of the economic cells.

The renovation movement in our country has scored great victories on the economic front, and the businessmen have made positive contributions to this. Many businessmen have taken the lead in looking for and testing new mechanisms with the credentials of innovators. In reality, they have contributed to formulating models for the new thinking and improved the policies of the party and state.

However, now that we have switched to an open-door market mechanism, there are many new requirements for businessmen that are fundamentally different from those in previous commercial management. Besides political quality, they must have many other standards such as technical standards, business ethics, great energy, and so on. Only if they possess those qualities can businessmen hope to win markets. Being the director of a commercial enterprise is a profession that requires on-going professional training if the person is to succeed. This is a unique, vital, and complex profession of the nation. Business is a type of creative labor that is full of risk. You must be ambitious and bold. If you want your business to succeed, you must be willing to accept the risks. In a market economy, while the risks are high, the potential rewards are great. However, accepting the risks does not mean doing things blindly. In order to reduce the risk, you must be knowledgeable, sensitive, and experienced.

The experience of the world shows that if the economy is to grow in a dynamic way and achieve results, there must be a human strategy, and a rank of cadres with the ability to manage the economy and a rank of businessmen must be built. Talented and moral people are valuable laborers of the nation. In an open market economy, the size and quality of the ranks of business cadres is one of the standards that manifests the ability of a country to participate in the international division of labor.

For Vietnam, an urgent requirement is to train ranks of business cadres. The former standards of commercial management cadres are no longer suitable. There are now many new business activities, such as joint ventures with other countries, management of export processing zones, international commerce, tourism, foreign currency services, insurance, and so on. On the other hand, the market mechanism to which we have switched is not an accidental market mechanism but a socialist-oriented market mechanism. This means that businessmen must give attention to the political factors in business. This is particularly true for businessmen in the state enterprises and large-scale business groups who play a role in orienting things and who serve as the activists in a multifaceted economy. Experience shows that politics and

business have a very close relationship. Political stability provides a good environment for business. Major businessmen are very concerned about the situation and the viewpoints and policies of the government so that, based on those things, they can formulate a business strategy and coordinate things with the government in regulating the economy.

At present, we have a rank of cadres who are managing the commercial banks. Some are suited to the new mechanism and have contributed to the country's economic development. However, few of these cadres have received any training, or they were trained in the old mechanism. The quality of their activities is manifested in part by the commercial production results of the businesses.

Switching to a market mechanism facing serious challenges, the ranks of business cadres in our country have become differentiated to a certain degree.

1. Some have embraced renovation and are eager to adapt themselves and affirm their position. They are closely monitoring the needs of the consumers, actively renovating techniques, and switching the direction of commercial production. These people are carrying on business energetically, and they have achieved results and preserved the capital, fulfilled their obligations to the state budget, and provided jobs and good living conditions for the laborers. Excluding those businesses that have favorable objective conditions (such as monopoly powers, large investments of capital by the state, good techniques, and advantages concerning goods), many of the businesses that have fierce competition have still affirmed their position and won markets. Clearly, those leading these enterprises are business cadres with political quality who have gone to the trouble to learn, who have kept up with the situation, who dare to think and act and bear responsibility, who are able to draw lessons from the realities of commercial production, and who can master and adapt themselves in a fluctuating economy. Even though they were trained in the old mechanism, they have quickly adjusted to the new knowledge.

2. Some cadres are indifferent to business knowledge and are ill-suited in the face of the vigorous expansion of the market mechanism. Thus, their businesses have failed to achieve good results and have wasted national assets. Reality shows many types of business cadres have fallen into this situation. They are loyal and incorruptible, but they can't satisfy the new requirements because of their old way of thinking, because of their lack of theory and practice regarding a market mechanism, and because of their lack of business knowledge and commercial backwardness.

3. Some cadres are opportunists who make use of the new mechanism and the loopholes in the policies in order to make a profit and enrich themselves illegally.

When these cadres were recruited, few were screened carefully, and their political quality and morals were already bad.

There are many different reasons for the above situation.

First, carrying on commercial activities based on a market mechanism is something new for our country. We do not have a tradition of carrying on economic and commercial activities. Furthermore, because we maintained the bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies mechanism too long, we lack real business cadres (in the past, higher echelons not only provided capital but they also dictated ways of thinking and acting).

Second, few of our business cadres have been systematically trained. Few of them understand markets or commercial operations. The state does not have a strategy, and it does not have a center to train ranks of business cadres in accord with the renovation requirements. Most of today's business cadres were trained either here or in a socialist country. And most of those with knowledge are in the wrong sector (50 percent of the cadres have college standards, but only 20 percent are employed in the right technical field). Only about 3 percent of our cadres were trained in countries having a market economy, and only 1.5 percent have judicial standards. Only 1 to 5 percent have foreign languages that can be used in management work. In particular, those cadres engaged in foreign economic activities lack knowledge concerning foreign trade and international law and commercial traditions. Because of this, their standards are quite backward as compared with international business standards, and the result as we all know is that we frequently suffer great losses in business and in international trade, which greatly harms the country.

Third, our business environment is not favorable, there are few markets and those that exist are disorderly, our system of business laws is just now in the process of being created, there is a lack of business support services, and the policy mechanism still contains many loopholes. Because of this, it is very difficult to become a real businessman, but it is very easy to misrepresent yourself as a businessman in order to enrich yourself illegally. (This is because business is carried on in different conditions. For one person, things may be very easy, but for someone else, things may be very difficult.)

Fourth, we lack clear criteria for selecting, training, and compensating businessmen. Today's standards for selecting people are little different from those used in the past. Thus, we need to have an objective basis for selecting business cadres and correctly evaluating the results of their business activities, particularly in the present situation when the business environment is not favorable, commercial markets are still narrow and disorderly, the judicial environment is poor, responsibilities (particularly the responsibilities of the business cadres working in the state enterprises) are not clear, and the control of state capital and assets lacks a suitable mechanism.

Fifth, the procedures and policies have changed constantly (from 1988 to the present, on the average, each month there has been a new document related to commercial management), and this has created difficulties and confusion for commercial activities.

The success or failure of business will affect not only trade and the lives of the workers and civil servants but also the national economy. Thus, businessmen must have ethical qualities, knowledge, and energy. We cannot turn over the country's capital and assets to businessmen who have ethical qualities but who lack knowledge and energy and vice versa.

Business is a profession, and because of this the basic principle is that to succeed you must work at your profession. The important thing is to soon formulate business cadre standards to serve as a basis for selecting, promoting, compensating, and firing cadres. This system of standards must always operate in accord with the requirements of economic development. There must be general standards for each type of business and special standards for special businesses. In switching to a market economy, building ranks of businessmen requires that we have historical and concrete viewpoints. The reality is that we cannot immediately create a rank of businessmen as we would like. Thus, we must follow each rung of the market economy and industriously create a new rank. We must accept the minimum requirements in order to use, purify, and retrain the old ranks.

Depending on the position of each type of commercial enterprise, standards must be stressed or supplemented as appropriate. For example, with respect to the large-scale commercial groups, political qualities and technical standards must be the important standards. For enterprises that engage in joint ventures with other countries, besides the above standards, the cadres must be skilled in foreign languages, understand international laws and commercial traditions, and have the ability to handle matters.

Based on the standards, plans must be made to select, train, and retrain people. Reinforcement sources outside the plans must constantly be expanded in order to recruit talented people and obtain outstanding people from the commercial production installations and excellent students at the colleges who have undergone challenges concerning management work. Business is related to energy. Because of this, people must be selected one at a time instead of in groups. A prestigious national training center must soon be established based on accepting modern commercial management knowledge. The appointment procedures of the state must be implemented with respect to the important commercial enterprises, and the business contract system must be tested with respect to popular commercial ventures that operate on contract based on the results of the tests. As for use, there must be a two-way selection mechanism so that users can select talented businessmen and so that the talented businessmen can choose suitable places of work with suitable compensation measures.

An urgent problem today is to soon stabilize the macro-cosmic economic environment so that criteria for evaluating business operations can be formed. In this, the competitive environment is the condition for selecting talented people and building ranks. On the other hand, statistical, accounting, and auditing systems must be implemented, and the results of production and business must be disclosed to the public. The most important standards for a business are: the commercial production results, preserving and increasing capital, fulfilling the obligation to pay into the budget, and obeying the laws.

Building ranks of business cadres is an important and urgent task for our country today. If the country is to develop rapidly, attention must be given to the human strategy, which includes building ranks of businessmen. In society's occupational structure, business must be regarded as one of the noble and important occupations of the country, and a suitable amount must be invested in building the ranks of those engaged in this.

**Relationship Between Party Committee Echelons, Secretaries, and Directors in State Enterprises**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 38-39

[Article by Nguyen Kim Dinh; not translated]

**Reality and Experience**

**Expanding Tourism—One of the Country's Economic Strengths**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 40-41

[Article by Doan Quang Thien; not translated]

**Several Aspects of Party Building in Ninh Binh**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 42-45

[Article by Nguyen Thanh Tuc; not translated]

**Nam Dinh: Problems and Solutions**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 46-49

[Article by Tran Minh Ngoc; not translated]

**Thai Nguyen Steel Corporation Growing Stronger in New Mechanism**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 50-53

[Article by Pham Thang; not translated]

**Ideological Life**

**An Ancient but not Outdated Story**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 p 54

[Article by Duong Vu; not translated]

**Materials**

**Quarters and Work of President Ho Chi Minh—Very Valuable Legacy of the Nation**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 55-56

[Article by Tran Viet Hoan; not translated]

**The World: Issues and Events**

**Development Lessons of ASEAN Countries**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 57-59

[Article by Trinh Cuong; not translated]

**From Foreign Publications**

**Japan Shifting Its Scientific and Technical Strategy**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No. 9, Sep 93 pp 60-64

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